DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 177 883 FL 010 602

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TITLE Stability of a Bilingual Situation and Arumanian Bilingualism.
INSTITUTION Laval Univ., Quebec (Quebec). International Center for Research on Bilingualism.
PUB DATE 69
NOTE 18p.; Not available in paper copy due to poor reproducibility of original document; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Linguistic Association (Toronto, June, 1969)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Bilingualism; *Cultural Factors; Ethnic Groups; *Geography; *Language Dominance; *Language Maintenance; *Sociolinguistics
IDENTIFIERS *Greece; *Macedorumanians; Yugoslavia

ABSTRACT

The stability of an ethnic minority's language in a bilingual situation is viewed as a function of: (1) level of literacy in each of the two languages; (2) economic, social, and political power as related to the two languages; (3) geographic and social mobility; (4) social integration within each language group and across groups; (5) amount and type of communication between the two language groups; and (7) amount of contact of either language with related linguistic communities outside. These factors are discussed with respect to the Macedonian Rumanians (Arumanians), a nomadic sheep-herding people of northern Greece and Macedonia. A bibliography and a map of Arumanian migratory patterns are appended. (JB)

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STABILITY OF A BILINGUAL SITUATION AND ARUMANIAN BILINGUALISM

Publication B-11

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FL010602

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1969

That languages (or language variants) sometimes replace each other, among some speakers, particularly in certain types or domains of language behavior, under some conditions of intergroup contact, has long aroused curiosity and comment . . . It is suggested here that the three major topical subdivisions of this field are:

(a) habitual language use at more than one point in time or space under conditions of intergroup contact;
(b) antecedent, concurrent or consequent psychological, social and cultural processes and their relationship to stability or change in habitual language use; and
(c) behavior toward language in the contact setting, including directed maintenance or shift efforts.[1]

It is this notion of equilibrium which we shall examine briefly, the process of disturbance of such an equilibrium due to the various factors mentioned, and the influence of both on the languages involved. Or conversely, the diagnosis of the state of equilibrium from the degree of interpenetration in the structures of the languages in contact.

A sociolinguistic geography and a sociolinguistic history (in Ivić's terms, diatopy and diachrony) with the above outlined concerns should also define the tools of such a study; it should develop a method comparable to that of historical linguistics on one hand, and combine the methods of social and geographical dialectology on the other.

I propose that alongside linguistic features (:isoglosses), sociolinguistic features be mapped in space such as are proposed in the second part of this paper. The presentation of such matrices for

[1] Joshua A. Fishman, Language Maintenance and Language Shift as a Field of Inquiry, in Language Loyalty in the U.S.A., Mouton, The Hague 1967 p. 424

each point in space (or time) will include information with as much quantification as can be extracted from the extant sources. From these matrices, similar cells (i.e. cross sections) or whole rows can be isolated and studied in a "controlled" fashion, e.g. education for a particular language, in a given time across many geographical points, or in a point over time etc. Covariance of such factors with the degree of convergence for various linguistic features (the aftereffect and reflection of the amount of interference) can measure correlation of factors affecting stability. If this sounds overly ambitious, it is only because persistence and ingenuity comparable to those displayed in historical linguistics are hoped here also.[2]

In the course of this paper, it will also be demonstrated that historical, travel, ethnographic and other accounts, from a time long before the sophisticated techniques of sociometrics were developed and adapted to sociolinguistics, can be very profitably used to shed light on the history of bilingual situations. In many cases, the data extracted can be presented in astonishingly modern attire, not a superficial change but a gain of great power for normal or backward prediction (i.e., reconstruction of unrecorded processes.) Only thus is comparison of data feasible.

While the general apparatus will be abstracted from a comparison of various distant situations such as Beluchistan, Paraguay and the U.S.A. immigrant groups, and the specific application and test will be on the bilingualism of a seminomadic group akin to the Rumanians in Greek, Slavic and Albanian Macedonia <u>largo sensu</u>, its applicability to the Canadian scene is more than obvious.

[2] Such files (i.e. <u>language maintenance and language shift files</u>) would permit both crossecultural and diachronic analyses, of primary as well as <u>secondary sources</u>, based upon comparable data, collected and organized in accord with uniform sets of sociocultural processes and contact categories. Fishman 1966:443.

Many scholars have pondered over questions of language maintenance or shift, and have produced analyses some of which are both insightful and highly systematic.[3]

As the results of their work have been utilized in some key studies, we will be immediately concerned with 3 or 4 such key studies only.

Emeneau (1956, 1962) reviewed the case of linguistic convergence in India, with Dravidian and Indo-Arian as the protagonist groups. This convergence which has affected all linguistic levels, from the phonological and the syntactic to the lexical, is due to a long communal symbiosis and one of a highly bilingual nature. Transference of features across tongues in bilingual speech and eventual "integration"(:Haugen's term) of some of these features into the language system, has been thoroughly demonstrated.[4]

Of the three topics which he outlines (1962) (language shift to extinction, structural convergence through bilingualism, and the bilingual individual) he expounds on the first two. The case is Baluchistan, with Brahui-Balochi bilingualism. Brahui, a Dravidian language completely isolated from sister tongues "has been Iranianized, or more specifically Balochized, in other parts, and very important parts, of its structure" (439). The data which Emeneau uses consist of socio-anthropological observations and a thorough analysis of census information on language, by sex, by year distribution. Some of the factors which he isolates are:

3 Haugen (1953, 1956) for Norwegian and other groups in America; Weinreich (1953, 1957) for Switzerland and India, Casagrande (195) for the Comanche Indians, Diebold (1962 etc.) for the Huave Indians, Mackey (1957) for a general review, etc.

4 See numerous studies by Haugen, Weinreich, Mackey, Fishman, etc.

1) sociocultural and political prestige
(here he deals in terms of high-low languages, against which modern sociolinguistic usage cautions)
2) intermarriage (i.e. endogamy-- exogamy)
3) children's language
4) bilaterality of bilingualism (:to what extent bilinguals are drawn from both monolingual pools; a great concern of Canadians)
5) historical overview of the political power structure (in his case in the hands of minoritarian Brahuis)
6) social context of use.

He briefly discusses the question of prediction of future developments in bilingual stability and decides against its possibility.

The second work utilized is Rubin's study of National Bilingualism in Paraguay (1968), more widespread than anywhere in the world, as she claims, and stable for over 300 years (Spanish-Guaraní). Among the numerous techniques which she has used we mention the following:

1) comparison of percentages of bilinguals in different age groups to ascertain and measure shift in the distribution of bilingualism in the population;

2) percentages as above for education (:grade finished) to ascertain covariance of education - number of bilinguals;

3) distribution of the two languages in the family, i.e. language use within and across the two groups formed by parents and children. This analysis ascertains language learned first, and does away with the oversimplified view of a "family language".

Stability is not disturbed in Paraguay, according to all indications, as the two languages have specialized in different domains (or "contexts") of everyday life and as both are strengthened through education and political power. The national degree of bilingualism is increasing, but as this affects both monolingual groups, stability is preserved.

These are some of the factors which mostly affect the stability of a bilingual situation:[5]

Internal conditions:

1) The level of literacy in each of the two languages.
2) Economic, social and political power as related to the two languages.
3) Geographic and social mobility.
4) Social integration within each language group and across groups.
5) Amount and type of communication between the two language groups.

External conditions:

Amount of contact of either language with related linguistic communities outside.

We will see how all of these are pertinent to the study of our case, and how some are modified in order to cover it.

Finally, Fishman's theoretical discussion (1966, 1968) systematizes all the concepts pertaining to stability or language shift. He stresses the fact that "if a strict domain separation becomes institutionalized so that each language is associated with a number of important but distinct domains, bilingualism may well become both universal and

[5] Adapted from Ferguson (1959), Diebold (1962), Rubin (1968) Ch. VI and others.

stabilized even though an entire population consists of bilinguals interacting with other bilinguals." (1966: 433). He then expounds on the immigrant to America case: how domain overlap increased in the bilingual with increasing mobility and acculturation, till one language (: English) displaced the others to all but a few restricted or very private domains. Fishman provided an acquisition-type X domain overlap type matrix, based on the distinction of compound (interdependent languages) - coordinate (independent languages) bilingualism.

	Domain overlap	
Acquisition	Overlapping	Non-overlapping
Compound		
Coordinate		

It should be pointed out that, at least in the above case of American immigrants, increased domain overlap conditions increased interference in the two linguistic systems. This adds precision to the ideas advanced by Emeneau for the Baluchi scene, and Brahui-Baluchi convergence.

With this much theoretical foundation we can now look at the case of Arumanian bilingualism. The historical geographic, socio-cultural and political setting is as follows:

The Arumanians are a seminomadic group akin to the Daco - Rumanians, probably separated from them roughly 1000 A.D. and presently inhabiting mountain areas in Greek and neighboring Macedonia. (See Fig. 2 for details).

Their periodic migrations are as follows: Summer (4-5 months) in their mountain villages, which are permanent settlements and

function like most other Southern Balkan villages; Winter in the plains around the mountains, but not necessarily closest to them (this includes all the points on the compass with respect to the main group in the Pindus mountains).

Economically, they live through the commerce of products related to sheep rearing, s.a. cheese, wool and its byproducts and meat. Also, they had a monopoly in muleteering throughout N. Greece and the Central Balkans for which there are indications as far back as the end of the 6th century A.D. In the cities, when settled, they became tradesmen and artisans.

Statistics are very confusing and can vary from 1,200,000 for the first third of this century of which 450,000 in Macedonia (Rumanian figures), to 10,554 for Greek Macedonia (Greek figure, 1951 census).[6] However, most objective sources estimate them at about 150,000 of which about 70,000 in Greek Macedonia. (These figures are rather old, and I don't have any more recent data).

Among their important sociocultural characteristics we note the high status of women (contrary to the situation among their Greek neighbors). A related trait is the distinctiveness of the female dialect in many of the Arumanian areas, and the important linguistic role played by women in setting the "attitudinal-affective behaviors (loyalty, antipathy, etc.)"towards Arumanian and Greek.[7] This has prompted at least one scholarly work whose theme centered around the role of the woman in checking both the spread of bilingualism and Greek linguistic interference.[8]

Finally, the political scene has been and still is very complicated and few details can be given here. Since the extension

[6] Ancel 1930:22; U.N. Demographic Yearbook 1956.
[7] Fishman 1966:454.
[8] See Récatas in Bibliography.

of the Greek political authority into Macedonia, life has not been easy for the Arumanians, not that it was terribly easy before. Characteristically, under Fishman's "overt behavioral implementation (control or regulation of habitual language use via reinforcement, planning, prohibition, etc.)" (1966:454), we can place the burning by Greek bands of churches, of Rumanian services, schools of Rumanian language and houses of active Arumanian group leaders, and in some instances, the assassination of such leaders when they became too effective in organizing the Rumanian education and orientation of the Arumanian community.[9]

Matrices for some typical Arumanian communities are presented next with such information as has been discussed above.

Samarina is probably the most prominent Arumanian center with a solid Arumanian population that has reached up to 5-6,000. Data are from the years just prior to the Balkan Wars of 1912.

Prizren, a city about 40 miles N.W. of Skopia in Yugoslav Macedonia offers an interesting case of Arumanians who settled in a city among Slavs and are becoming rapidly acculturated.

In a rough attempt at specifying degree of bilingualism, impressionistic statements such as "fluently" or "very little" are translated into Diebold's (1961) threefold distinction of incipient, subordinate and coordinate bilingualism, the formulae being:

a) incipient = speaks very little, understands poorly
b) coordinate = speak very good X in addition to Y
c) subordinate = speak some X, or balance of a) and b).

[9] Wace and Thompson, p. 180 ff.

Infomation on intergroup relations is also provided, especially as regards intermarriage, a complicated matter since in addition to ethnic or racial groups we have religious affiliations which cut across ethnic groups: moslem, christian orthodox partriarchate, christian catholic, christian orthodox exarchate, jewish and undefined (:gypsy idolatry?). This makes the intermarriage pattern infinitely complicated, and interesting.

Among the rough conclusions from an inspection of past development, sources and data analysis, we may include the following:

1) A millenium long Arumanian-Greek or Arumanian-Slavic bilingualism is rapidly yielding to Greek or Slavic monolingualism.

2) Deep changes in the ecology and the sociocultural patterns are responsible, s.a. shift from nomadism to settled city life, resulting acculturation and unrestricted intermarriage. This was also encouraged by the attraction of Arumanian men to dowry-bearing Greek wives, while such a system is unknown in the Arumanian Society.

Finally, the state of one yet city community of Arumanians, that of Hrupista, is reflected in the description of Caragiu-Marioţeanu (1968). Of her three subjects (immigrants to Rumania since 1928) two are women and speak Greek "foarte bine" or in our terms, they are coordinate bilinguals. The same holds true of the man. In the light of the rare occurrence of bilingualism among Arumanian women of the mountains except in incipient form, this shows the extent of acculturation of the city Arumanians. Still, this is stable bilingualism as Arumanian is not displaced by Greek, but spoken alongside it.

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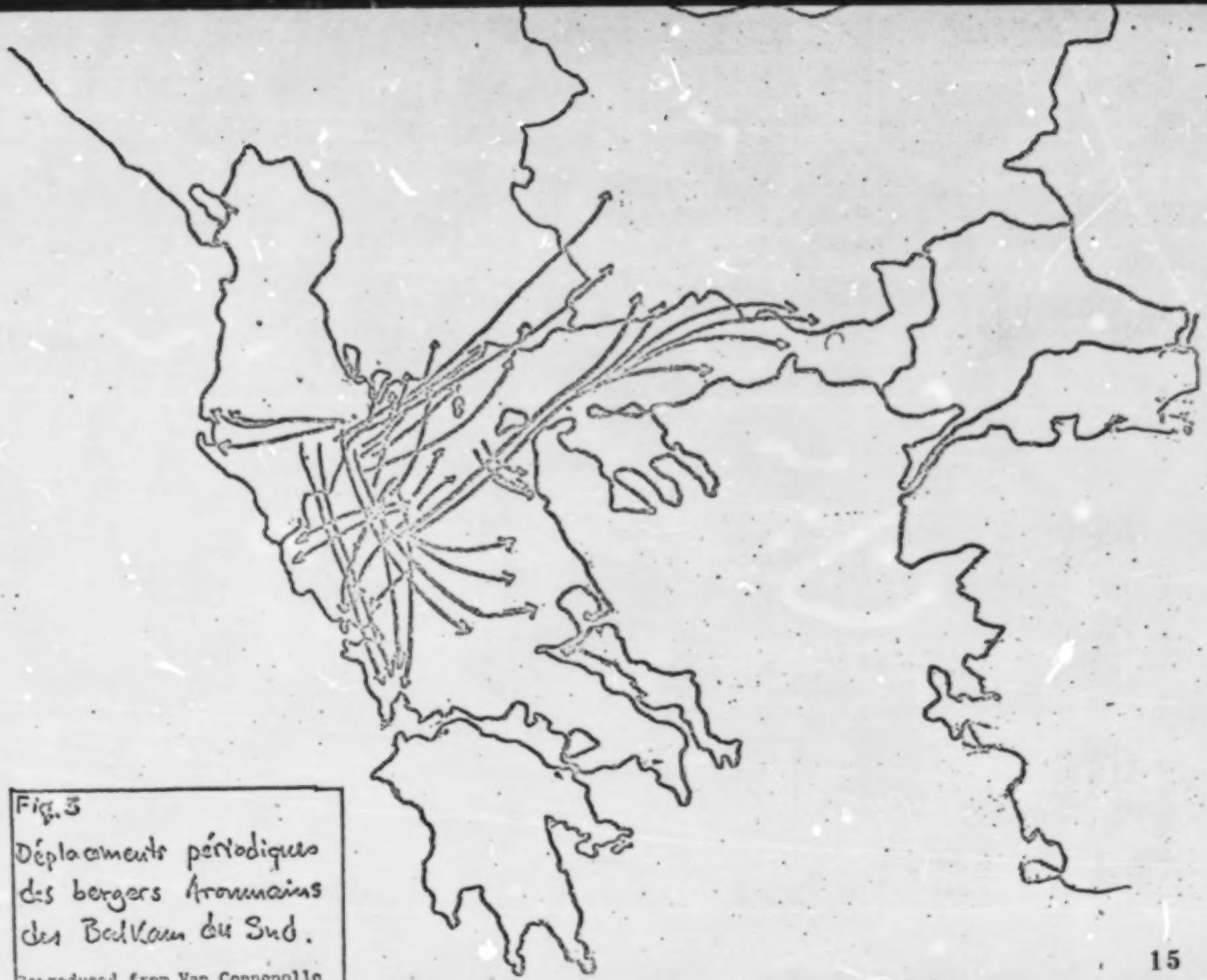

Fig. 3

Déplacements périodiques des bergers Aroumains des Balkans du Sud.

Reproduced from Van Coppenolle

KEY:

M: male
F: female

Y: young children
O: old men (and women)

U: universal (widespread)
R: rare

A: fluent (coordinate)
B: subordinate
C: poor (incipient)

Prizren (Around 1950)

Nationality \ Language		Arum.	Alban.	Greek	Serbian	Turkish
Arumanian	M	?				
	F	A:U				
Albanian	M		A:U		C:U	B:O:U
	F		A:U		C:R	
Serbian	M					
	F					
Turc	M		C		C	A
	F					A

(additional complication for multilingualism)

(M:)B:O:U = all old men have subordinate command of the particular language.

Samarina (around 1911)
Turkish state
Arumanians

language/domain

Language / Domain	Alban.	Arum.	Slav.	Greek	Turkish
State (Official)				X	X
School		X:?:?		X:?:?	
Children-Children		U			
Fa-Mo		U			
Mother-Children		U			
Father-Children		U			
Street meeting Greeting formulae *		X		X	
Church		X:?		?:X	
Family names		X		X	
National conscience		X		X	
Intermarriage		U		AR-M GK-F	
Press		X(Saloni-ca)		X	

X: simple unquantified, unqualified statement.

Language of state reflected in official documents, language of political speeches etc.

Number of schools for each language is given in the school X language cell; also approximate number of students. Due to the polarization of political alignment, school and church attendance for the two groups is usually not overlapping.

* Arumanian or Greek depending on political party.

Prizren (around 1950)
Yugoslav State
Arumanians

language/domain

Language / Domain	Alban.	Arum.	Slav.	Greek	Turk.	Arabic
State (Off.)			X (Mak)			
School			X			
Child-Child			U			
Fa-Mo	0: (10)					
** Moth.-Child	?					
** Fa.-Ch.	?					
* Street meeting (Greeting formulae)		X		U*		
Church			X	(attempted)		
Family names		R	X	R		
National conscience		(15 fam.)		R		
Intermarriage		U	R			
Press			X			

X: simple unquantified, unqualified statement.

* Even those who do not speak Greek as such. This is probably a relfection of the free variation (?) between Greek and Arumanian formulae in Greece; part of the code.

** In Paraguay, these two entries are in Spanish, rather than Guaraní as the parents "want the children to do well at school."